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Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5609
INFO AMEMBASSY MASERU
AMEMBASSY GABORONE

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STADIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y-TEXT (PARA 2. SUB-PARA B. LINE 24)

FOR ACTING ASST SECRETARY HARROP FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: EAID XA
SUBJECT: FY 79 AND FY 80 BUDGETED ASSISTANCE FOR AFRICA

REF: STATE 224147

1. REFTEL REPORT ON THE STATUS OF FY 79 AND FY 80 ASSISTANCE FOR AFRICA AND OPPORTUNITY TO REACT ARE GREATLY APPRECIATED. BACKGROUND AND PROJECT DATA ARE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IN EVALUATING LATEST AID PROPOSALS FOR STAFFING NEW INDEPENDENT COUNTRY MISSIONS.

FOLLOWING IS MY ASSESSMENT, AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH CHARGE'S/DCMS, OF IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR ABILITY TO IMPLEMENT NATIONAL OBJECTIVES IN BLS COUNTRIES OF RESOURCE LEVELS OUTLINED REFTEL. THE THREE CATEGORIES OF ASSISTANCE AFFECTING ONE OR MORE OF THE BLS COUNTRIES ARE: (A) SSA, COUNTRY AND REGIONAL (ALL THREE COUNTRIES);
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(B) FOREIGN MILITARY SALES (BOTSWANA); (C) IMETP (BOTSWANA). EACH IS CONSIDERED BELOW:

2. SSA. REFTEL IS THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT WE HAVE HAD TO DATE ON LIKELY AID LEVELS FOR FY 79/80. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT FY 79 LEVELS ARE A MAJOR FACTOR IN CONDITIONING ATTITUDES THAT AFFECT ANY

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ASSESSMENT OF FY 80 FIGURES. QUITE FRANKLY, THE EXPECTED ACROSS-THE-BOARD DECLINE IN SAA FUNDING LEVELS FOR THE BLS COUNTRIES IN FY 79 OR 80 IS NOT LIKELY TO HAVE A SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON THE ATTAINMENT OF OUR OBJECTIVES IN ANY OF THE THREE. THE LOWER REGIONAL LEVELS, ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD SERIOUSLY ERODE OUR ABILITY TO HELP MEET REFUGEE NEEDS (STUDENT AND OTHER), AND OUR MOST IMPORTANT TOOL FOR CREATING AND ENHANCING PUBLIC SUPPORT, NAMELY SELF-HELP, WOULD BE CRITICALLY CURTAILED. THE REASONS UNDERLYING THIS ASSESSMENT ARE COMPLEX; THE MAIN POINTS CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

A. COUNTRY LEVELS. THE HIGHER FY 79 COUNTRY PROGRAM LEVELS WERE DEVELOPED AS A RESULT OF INDICATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS FROM WASHINGTON THAT THE ADMINISTRATION COULD MAINTAIN AID MEMENTUM THAT WOULD ENABLE IT TO EXCEED FY 78 LEVELS. IN TERMS OF POLITICAL DYNAMICS, THE INITIATIVE FOR THE LARGE FY 79 AND 80 PROGRAMS CAME FROM US NOT FROM HOST COUNTRIES. LOOKING AT FY 78 AND FY 79, AID OFFICIALS HERE HAVE BEEN SPEAKING OF AN EXPECTED "CASCADE" EFFECT IN FY 80. HOST COUNTRY OFFICIALS HAVE NOT INDICATED SIMILAR EXPECTA-TIONS.

B. THE PROPOSED FY 79 PROJECTS INVOLVED A NUMBER OF "NEW STARTS" (SOME EIGHT IN LESOTHO, THREE TO FOUR EACH IN BOTSWANA AND SWAZILAND). PLANNING AND BUDGETING REQUIREMENTS ARE SUCH THAT THESE HAD TO BE DEVELOPED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

WELL BEFORE FY 78 ASSISTANCE (OUR BANNER YEAR) HAD BEEN ASSIMILATED OR EVALUATED. OUR EXPERIENCE IN FY 78 HAS UNMISTAKABLY REVEALED WHAT WE HAD EARLIER ASSUMED, NAMELY THAT THERE IS A VERY THIN LAYER OF LOCAL OFFICIALS AVAILABLE AND QUALIFIED TO MAKE DECISIONS TO IMPLEMENT AID PROJECTS. WE ARE NOT THE ONLY (OR LARGEST) DONOR IN THE THREE COUNTRIES; THE OTHERS ARE EXPERIENCING THE SAME PROBLEM. IMPLEMENTATION CAPACITY VAIRES GREATLY FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER. BUT EVEN IN TOTSWANA, WHICH IS RECOGNIZED AS THE BEST, THERE ARE REPEATED PROBLEMS OF FINDING QUALIFIED COUNTERPART PERSONNEL -- AND FUNDS. LESOTHO'S RESOURCES ARE TAXED TO THE LIMIT WITH EXISTING PROJECTS. SWAZILAND TAKES A RELATIVELY DETACHED VIEW WHERE OUR AID IS CONCERNED, AS EVIDENCED BY THE FACT THAT THEIR OWN RESOURCES GO INTO SUCH EXOTIC PROJECTS A NATIONAL AIRLINE AND SHIPPING COMPANY, A THIRD SUGAR MILL AND OTHER INDUSTRIES, LEAVING FOREIGN DONORS TO SHOW CONCERN FOR HUMAN NEEDS. THIS EVIDENCE OF GOS OWN PRIORITIES HELPS ACCOUNT FOR OUR CONSISTENTLY RELAXED ATTITUDE RE REDUCED FUNING LEVELS, E.G., SEE GORM SUBMISSION;

C. ANOTHER IMPORTANT REASON, IN TERMS OF POLICY

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GOALS, FOR BEING ABLE TO TOLERATE LOWER FY 79 AND 80
LEVELS IS THAT WE WERE ABLE IN FY 78 TO SIGN LARGE-
SCALE PRIORITY PROJECTS OR PROGRAMS IN LESOTHO (THE
SOUTHERN PERIMATER ROAD) AND BOTSWANA (THE PROGRAM
GRANT). SIGNIFICANT PROGRAMS WERE ALSO BEGUN NOT
ONLY BY OURSELVES BUT OTHER DONORS IN HEALTH, AGRICULTURE
AND TRAINING IN ALL THREE COUNTRIES. SEVERAL OF THE
AGRICULTURE PROJECTS ARE FRANKLY NOT PROMISING, E.G.,
IN LESOTHO ON ONE SERIOUSLY EXPECTS SUCCESS IN AGRICULTURE
GIVEN THE LACK OF ARABLE LAND AND ABSENCE OF ECOMIC
INCENTIVES. SOME FY 78 PROJECTS STILL NEED TO BE WORKED
OUT, E.G., THE PRODUCE MARKETING CORPORATION FOR WHICH
TIME IS NEEDED. OFTEN PROJECTS ARE FRANKLY EXPERIMENTAL

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y-TEXT (PARA 2. SUB-PARA D. LINE14)

E.G., PRIMARY CURRICULM DEVELOPMENT IN SWAZILAND, OR
MARGINAL, E.G., RANGE MANAGEMENT AND LIVESTOCK
AND AGRICULTURE PLANNING PROJECT IN BOTSWANA. IN
OTHER WORDS, WITHOUT THE LESOTHO SOUTHERN PERIMETER
ROAD, BOTSWANA PROGRAM GRANT, SWAZILAND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
AND THREE HEALTH PROJECTS, WE COULD BE ACCUSED OF INDIF-
FERENCE TO THE THREE COUNRIES; WITH THESE LARGE
PROJECTS, OUR CONCERN HAS BEEN MADE EVIDENT. IF WE
COULD SCRAPE TOGETHER RESOURCES ADEQUATE TO ASSURE THE
TRANS-KALAHARI ROAD PROJECT IN BOTSWANA IN FY 79, IT
WOULD BE A SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARD OUR POLICY GOALS OF
PROMOTING REGIONAL COOPERATION AND HELPING STRENGTHEN
AND STABILIZE BOTSWANA BY PROVIDING A ROAD LINK BETWEEN

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THE WESTERN FOUR-FIFTHS OF THE COUNTRY AND THE EASTERN FIFTH, AS WELL AS FACILITATING CONTACTS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN A DEMOCRATIC BOTSWANA AND UNCERTAIN NEW GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA. IN THIS REGARD, I ASSUME GHANZI OR TRANS-KALHARI ROAD IS REFERRED TO (PARA 4 E REFTEL) RATHER THAN BOTZAM ROAD.

D. FINALLY, IT SHOULD BE NOTED MORE GENERALLY THAT

MANY OF THE KINDS OF PROJECTS AID HAS UNDERTAKEN, OR PROPOSES TO UNDERTAKE, DO NOT HAVE MUCH OF AN IMPACT ON U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES. AID IS UNDERSTANDABLY OBEDIENT TO CONGRESS' "NEW DIRECTIONS" POLICY WHICH CALLS FOR HELP IN MEETING BASIC HUMAN NEEDS (BHN). THE BLS COUNTRIES, ABOVE ALL ELSE, WANT DEVELOPMENT WHICH THEY SEE AS IMPOSSIBLE (EVEN THE DELIVERY OF BHN) WITHOUT INFRASTRUCTURE. USG OVERALL POLICY OBJECTIVES WOULD BE BETTER SERVED, AND THE IMPACT OF OUR EFFORTS HEIGHTENED, IF WE WERE MORE RESPONSIVE TO (1) HOST COUNTRY DESIRES FOR INFRASTRUCTURE, (2) THEIR SPECIAL SECURITY AND RESOURCES NEEDS AS COUNTRIES BORDERING ON SOUTH AFRICA AND (IN CASE OF BOTSWANA) RHODESIA. GIVEN AID'S FOCUS ON ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES, ITS RELEVANCE TO OVERALL U.S. POLICY GOALS MAY BE SUBSTANTIAL BUT IS CERTAINLY INDIRECT, LONG-TERM AND HENCE PROBLEMATIC.

3. REGIONAL. THE SHARP REDUCTION IN REGIONAL FUNDS WOULD BE MORE DIRECTLY ADVERSE TO OUR GOALS, ESPECIALLY CUTS IN TRAINING FOR REFUGEES AND SELF-HELP FUNDS.

A. REFUGEES - IT IS NOT THAT EDUCATIONAL OR OTHER ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES HAS MUCH IMMEDIATE POLICY EFFECT, E.G. IN STRENGTHENING THE CAUSE OF PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA OR SOUTH AFRICA. REGRETTABLY, HOWEVER, IT IS THE PRINCIPAL (IF NOT ONLY) MEANS WE HAVE OF INFLUENCING REFUGEE ATTITUDES. OTHER COUNTRIES ARE READY TO MEET THE RUFUGEES' MORE HIGHLY-PRISED DESIRES FOR ARMS AND EQUIPMENT FOR THEIR "LIBERATION." BUT IF WE DID NOT OFFER EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE WE WOULD APPARENTLY ABDICATE ANY INTEREST OR RESPONSIBILITY FOR HELPING GOVERNMENT OF BOTSWANA TO RELIEVE THE BURDEN OF HUNDRES OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT REFUGEES AND

(PRESENTLY) 12,000 RHODESIAN REFUGEES. THERE MAY BE OTHER SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE BUT THEY ARE NOT KNOWN TO US.

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B. SELF-HELP, AFTER A YEAR'S GAP (IN THE MISTAKEN BELIEF THAT SSA EXCLUDED SELF-HELP) SSA HAS BOOMED OVER THE PAST EIGHT MONTHS. THESE PROJECTS HAVE THE HIGHLY DESIRABLE CHARACTERISTICS OF (1) BUILDING ON INITIATIVES TAKEN BY THE PEOPLE OF THE HOST COUNTRY (NOT JUST OFFICIALS), (2) GOING PROMPTLY AND DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE, AND (3) GIVING US AN IMAGE OF RESPONSIVENESS AND CONCERN. THIS CAN BE SAID ABOUT FEW, VERY FEW, AID PROJECTS.

SIMILARLY, ANUMBER OF PVO PROJECTS PROMISE TO BE RESPONSIVEL TO HOST COUNTRY NEEDS IN IMPORTANT SECTORS E.G. STIMULATING PRIVATE ENTERPRENEURSHIP AND CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING.

4. MILITARY. THE LESSON OF THE PAST YEAR'S EFFORTS TO ASSIST BOTSWANA IN ITS DESPERATE EFFORTS TO EQUIP ITS NEWLY-ESTABLISHED DEFENSE FORCE IS THAT THOSE MAKING THE DECISIONS ARE NOT YET SUFFICIENTLY INFORMED OR IMPRESSED BY BOTSWANA'S SITUATION AND REQUIREMENTS TO SUPPORT DIRCT ASSISTANCE. (FORTUNATELY, THE PROGRAM GRANT ENABLES BOTSWANA TO PURCHASE ITS MOST ESSENTIAL NEEDS.) THE DISAPPOINTMENT WILL BE PARTICULARLY ACUTE IN THE FIELD OF TRAINING. THE NEWLY-ACCREDITED DATT AND ARMATT WILL HAVE LITTLE TO OFFER -- AND NOT THE ONE THING THE COMMANDING GENERAL HAS AKSED FOR, NAMELY TRAVEL AND TRAINING IN THE U.S. FOR HIMSELF AND HIS TOP COMMANDERS. ONE CAN SCARCELY IMAGINE A MORE SELF-DEFEATING STEP, GIVEN OUR PRIORITY POLICY OBJECTIVE OF LIMITING CONFLICTS, THAN A REFUSAL TO STRENGTHEN THE ONLY FORCES INTHE AREA THAT FULLY SHARE OUR COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS. I EARNESTLY HOPE SOME-
THING CAN BE DONE TO ACQUIRE AT LEAST A MODERATE DO 30,000 (MORE THAN A MERE DOL 3,000 AS INDICATED REFTEL) TO HELP CEMENT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BDF. AND EVEN A TOKEN AMOUNT OF MILITARY (FMS)
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AID WOULD BE OF INCALCULABLE BENEFIT IN PROVIDING PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT WHICH THE GOB HAS REPEATEDLY SOUGHT FROM US. IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICA CONTEXT THIS COULD HAVE MOST HELPFUL IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES.

5. SUMMARY COMMENT: THANKS TO SEVERAL LARGE INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS, AID IN FY 78 HAS DEVELOPED AND FILLED A PIPELINE THAT WILL CARRY US INTO FY 79 AND 80 EVEN WITH LOWER FUNDING LEVELS, WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON, OR IMPAIRMENT OF, OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES. THE DECLINE IN REGIONAL FUNDS AND MILITARY TRAINING WILL HAVE MORE SERIOUS AND UNFORESEEABLE CONSEQUENCES FOR THOSE OBJECTIVES.

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